THE New Republic

In the UN, the US Hoist on the French Petard

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AS "THE TEAM" TAKES HOLD

I. How Will the American Economy Respond?

II. Who Will Make the Fateful Decisions for Peace?

THIS SIDE OF PARADISE

Ilya Ehrenberg's Novel about Soviet Life

ON RE-READING THOMAS WOLFE

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Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

Isolationism isn't dead; the GOP right-wing will try now to recapture the party. Sen. George Malone (R, Nevada) back from a quick survey of Europe, asks for immediate withdrawal of all US troops. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R, Illinois), Taft floor leader in 1952 and possible right-wing Presidential candidate now, received a testimonial dinner the other day in Chicago: the big cheer came for a telegram from McCarthy. The American Legion—whose posts are politically potent in small-town America—holds its annual encampment next week in Miami: it will attack foreign entanglements and the machinations of the United Nations. On the Democratic side, isolationist ex-Governor Herman Talmadge, denouncing "give-away" programs abroad, threatens to defeat internationalist Sen. Walter George (D, Ga.), who pushed Eisenhower into the Summit conference. These are only small symptoms.

International crises continue: France withdraws its delegation from the UN because of Algeria; there is trouble in Egypt, the Far East—all over the lot. Never did America have greater need for allies and stability of policy. Yet the super-nationalist fringe, mostly on the Republican side, will soon be night-riding again. See if our prediction is not verified: sober, responsible men in the months ahead will urge continuation of GOP control on the ignoble ground that only by giving the Republicans office can they be forced to act responsibly, and that in opposition they will try to take the State Department captive again as they did under Dean Acheson and cry "sell-out" to every international move. This is a blackmail argument pure and simple: it is heard already, and it implies the release of McCarthyism if the GOP doesn't win.

The tragedy of Eisenhower's illness will always be ameliorated for us in part by the brave columns of David Lawrence, chief ornament of the *New York Herald-Tribune* stable. Finding voice in stern reproof on the day after the tragedy, he reproached all those who had built "a party round one man," ending somewhat unexpectedly with the hope that maybe Ike would run again anyway. Hitting his stride next day the eminent seer lashed out again, this time warning that the GOP might "destroy itself" by not instantly uniting on Nixon, a man whom "left-wingers" opposed, he explained, because Nixon had exposed Alger Hiss. (We had not understood this before and were glad to have it explained. It coincided with *Time Magazine's* equally pertinent observation that the chief weakness of Nixon comes from "smears" of liberals.)

By Wednesday the stock market had its big shake-out, and simultaneously Lawrence was at top form. Offering the column, the *Washington Star* expressed the columnists' reaction with superb brevity: "David Lawrence: 'Americans Fear the Democrats'."

While mortified Democrats over the land hung their heads at not being "Americans," the agile pundit rose on Friday to his masterpiece of the week. Dropping Nixon for the minute, Lawrence presented an electrifying new theory—that now Eisenhower is more likely to run than ever. Why—? Well, you see, Ike had known about his heart all along and "with a secret like that on his conscience" (Lawrence's words, not ours) he was unlikely to run. But now, happily, the oppressive secret was out, so Ike would be willing to accept a draft if offered. To authenticate the theory Lawrence explained that it came to him, bona fide, from "a politician of national standing who happens to be a Democrat." We submit that this week's output reveals Lawrence at his true worth. No prize is too much for him, and he becomes more readable daily.

Get ready to like Richard Nixon. The Republican Party is going to make you like him if it costs $20 million of 1956 radio-TV time. For the moment, at least, most correspondents think Nixon has the inside track. And what material to work with; think what they did with Jane Russell! Nixon has the charm of the Fuller brush salesman, the simple, earnest, dignity of American Youth as he delivers what Eric Sevareid calls "promptu" speeches. If Nixon gets the nomination, Republicans must act fast: more money will be spent in shorter time than ever before in election history; the golden shower will saturate the networks. What a satisfying prospect—it will be Nixon *everywhere!* And oh, you are going to love our Dicky-boy.

This column, however, has certain reservations. If Nixon is nominated the TV blitz will certainly come. But as a minority voice among Washington correspondents, this commentator cannot really be certain the GOP will pick Nixon. If there is one man that the trade unionists won't have, it is Nixon. We can't see the South dissolving at his feet either. Indeed, we don't see how he can attract the "swing" vote without which the otherwise minority Republican Party can't win. That is what defeated Taft in the convention in 1952—the delegates wanted Taft but a majority reached the conclusion that he just couldn't be elected. We have a hunch now that the same fate awaits Nixon next summer, and that it will be some other face, less patently earnest, simple and noble perhaps, that the GOP television cameras will cause you to love.

Notes: In respect for Eisenhower's illness a battle of etiquette is going on in Washington, whether it is bad taste to suggest he can't run, or bad taste to urge a man to run after a heart attack. The city boils with speculation, one comment curtly summarizing general feeling: "Would you want to race on the Indianapolis Speedway with a patched tire?" . . . Congratulations to Johns Hopkins University! Refusing to prejudge the case of Owen Lattimore, it placed him on leave with pay until his case was disposed of; it has now quietly reinstated him. . . . While private and public US agencies fight for the forthcoming power of the new St. Lawrence development, Canada quietly turns hers over to the Ontario "Hydro," publicly owned. . . . The unforgiveable thing about Canada's "creeping socialism" is that her dollar is worth more than America's. . . . The Philadelphia mayoralty election next month is a humdinger and may show national trends — Democratic reformer Richardson Dilworth *vs.* 35-year-old Nixon-type, W. Thacher Longstreth, fronting for the old GOP Philadelphia machine.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

On the Wrong Side of the Colonial Fence

THE COUNTRIES that make up the majority of the United Nations hate colonialism. They also fear foreign intervention in their domestic affairs. Often, in the past, these feelings have worked against each other, the Colonial powers arguing successfully that UN action on behalf of subject and rebellious peoples would constitute a dangerous precedent that new and independent nations would live to regret. France tried this tactic once again, in opposing the UN motion to consider Algeria. It failed, and France in a burst of emotional outrage, has exiled herself from the UN.

The fear of foreign intervention held by UN members is expressed in Article 2 of the Charter. "Nothing contained in the present Charter," it states, "shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state. . . ." Latin-American republics, resentful of past US actions, and the nations of Asia and the Middle East which guard their newly-won sovereignty with jealousy, have stood for rigid adherence to Article 2. It was to them that France appealed when a motion to debate Algeria was brought before the UN Assembly.

But the French Government underestimated the world's concern over developments in North Africa. The Soviet delegation, since the present Assembly convened, has concentrated with great success upon building up new momentum in the anti-colonial struggle. Egypt, the leader of the Arab League, has actively backed the North African rebellion against France. And Middle East, African and Asian nations have sensed a new solidarity since the conference at Bandung. When five Latin-American countries joined these groups, a new majority of 28 nations formed to defeat France and her allies.

Among the unhappy supporters of French colonial rule, were Britain and the United States. We regard the transfer of 100,000 French soldiers to North Africa as a moral violation of France's commitments to NATO. We do not believe that even 100,000 soldiers can hold down North Africa for long. Our spokesmen concede in private that for the Assembly to review the appalling violence that has spread through French territories in Africa is not in any sense the "intolerable intervention" that the French Government insists is a violation of Article 2. And yet with all the world watching, we publicly endorse the French case.

The French case is based on the claim that Algeria is an integral part of the French nation. But by all the basic standards that determine nationhood, that is no longer true. Eight million of the nine million inhabitants of Algeria are Arabs. Their representative leaders, in the Algerian Assembly and the French Parliament have voted to reject integration. In Algeria, as in Morocco and Tunis, French actions in the past year have severed the ties that form nations and no Arab spokesman for integration can be found. Even within France, integration is no more than a pretense. "It is useless to dwell on the faults that have been committed," declared the Socialist, Guy Mollet recently. "It suffices to state that today we can no longer envisage this solution. Certain conservative Frenchmen are still urging this policy; in reality when their reasoning is carried to its logical conclusion they draw back in horror." Integration would mean that North Africa would hold 150 of the 600 seats in the French Assembly; the Moslems of Algeria would elect 75 deputies or so, in contrast to the 15 they are permitted to send to Paris today.

If integration is neither a reality, nor an objective, the question is *how is change to be brought about?* The French have acted alone, and 3,000 deaths have occurred in the past year. One-tenth that many might suffice for the United Nations to review the conflict under the terms of Article 7 as a threat to peace. For when peace is threatened, the Charter expressly provides that the restrictions imposed by Article 2 be set aside.

The encouragement of peaceful change has always been held out as a major purpose of the United Nations. And US spokesmen have maintained that helping colonial peoples to achieve their goal of independence in peace is among the great achievements of the UN. France's purpose, in contrast, has been to deny the eight million Arabs of Algeria the right of petition to the United Nations. If that right is denied, then warfare is left as their one recourse.

A new policy of repression seems probable in Africa, as the French seek to justify their actions and to forestall renewed action by the UN. The United States will justifiably share the decline in France's standing throughout Asia and the Middle East, while Soviet Russia gains further influence among the majority of nations opposed to colonial rule.

"Soft Underbelly"

IN the Second World War Winston Churchill tried to justify his main strategic obsession by describing the Mediterranean theatre as the soft underbelly of Europe. The phrase seemed cruelly ironic to allied soldiers who had to fight in Italy or Greece; but today it has a frightening relevance. From one end to the other the Mediterranean is in a turmoil from which only Communists can gain.

Last year was one of great achievement. The Trieste settlement and the Balkans Pact bridged a dangerous gap in the NATO front. America's "Northern Tier" policy won its first adherents in the Middle East.

Little of all this remains intact today. Britain's appalling blunders over Cyprus have robbed the Balkans Pact of meaning and have put in question even Greece's membership in NATO. Now, by appointing Field Marshal Sir John Harding as Governor of Cyprus, Britain has moved one step still further away

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from a position in which the problem might be settled through negotiation. By deliberately lighting the fires of Turkish nationalism Britain has made a solution infinitely more difficult.

In French North Africa the frightened fumbling of the Faure Government seems to be producing a similar predicament. Though Tunisia has underlined the lesson that a shift of power towards the Arabs is the only way by which France can retain influence in this vital area, Faure has allowed the colonial diehards to paralyze his will. In consequence the moderate Arab leaders are losing their hold, and a primitive terrorism is taking over. Moreover the savage and indiscriminate reprisals of French troops after the massacre in Morocco, scarcely reported in Western papers, have revolted opinion in Asia and will long complicate Western attempts to win friends among the uncommitted peoples.

Finally, the new outbreak of fighting on Israel's borders has unsettled the whole Western position in the Middle East. By offering arms to Egypt, Russia has scared America into relaxing the controls she has so far exercised herself over arms exports to the Arabs. This in turn is bound to produce violent counterpressure from Israel, with growing effect as polling day in the Presidential election draws nearer.

It is striking that Communism has played little or no role in any of these conflicts; they arise essentially from failures among leading members of the Western alliance to understand or accept popular forces among those who are basically on their own side in the Cold War. But they present Russia with opportunities which she can scarcely avoid exploiting.

For this reason these various conflicts in the Mediterranean are the business of the Western alliance as a whole. And if the Great Powers in NATO are unwilling to intervene in one another's affairs, perhaps a concerted move by some of the smaller powers might force collective consideration of the common dangers inherent in present policies.

London DENIS HEALY, M.P.

The Bingo Game

WHEN history assembles its notes on American life from 1954 to the present, it will surely allow a brief footnote on the longest bingo game ever played—with new numbers bawled out in monotonous sequence, and with never a winner. Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young made public some more numbers on Sept. 26. Up to June 30, announced Mr. Young, 3,586 people were fired and 5,684 resigned under the Federal Employees Security Program. A day later Veterans' Administrator H. V. Higley told a Senate Civil Service Subcommittee that most of the 449 employees listed by Mr. Young as having been fired by the VA were removed under "regular Civil Service procedure." Frederick W. Baumann Jr, acting security officer of the Government Printing Office, testified that the 51 GPO employees dismissed for "security reasons" since the new rules took effect in May, 1953, were actually let go on general grounds of "suitability."

As early as 1953, independent checks by Washington newspapers disclosed that many of the alleged "risk" separations had been handled under routine civil service procedures. In response to criticisms of its careless calculating, late in 1954 the Civil Service Commission advised Federal agencies that "removals under regular civil service procedures" should be counted as security dismissals "only when the removal is the direct result of an adverse security determination."

From the testimony of Messrs. Higley and Baumann it now appears that this rule has been flaunted by the Commission itself. The staff of the Senate subcommittee, headed by Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D, S.C.), which is investigating Mr. Young's mathematics is now collecting from the major federal agencies the forms they submitted to the Commission relating to discharges.

Granting the need for a security system, Congress until now has wholly abrogated its investigative role in determining whether the particular security procedures followed by the Executive branch have violated basic rights. Now Congress, with its rights of subpoena is supplementing citizens' inquiries such as that financed by the Fund for the Republic. In turn, defenders of the system as it now exists are mobilizing to prevent the inquiry from extending too far. Fulton Lewis Jr.'s broadcasts have been noted in the *New Republic*. The American Legion seems certain to demand that Congress divert its attention from the security system to the Fund. Now Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, has added his substantial prestige to the view that it is not the system but its critics that bear watching. Addressing the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Mr. Hoover on October 3 attacked the "fictitious liberals" who "through insidiously slanted and sly propagandistic writings and reports oppose urgently needed internal security measures." He left it up to the Chiefs to determine whether the Fund for the Republic experts and other critics are "ficticious liberals" or real ones.

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As "the Team" Takes Hold

I. How Will the American Economy Respond?

BEFORE the unfortunate event in Denver, it was fashionable to speak of the "Eisenhower Boom," thus crediting the President personally with the high level of business activity. It was commonplace to say that Mr. Eisenhower had called a truce in a 20-year quarrel between the Federal Government and big business, thus inspiring business confidence.

Both these notions were put to a test when the President was stricken, and the odds favoring the election of a Democratic Administration next year were greatly increased. Business reacted in three ways:

1. The stock market took a sharp drop.
2. The grain market rose.
3. Big corporations announced they would proceed with substantial, long-range investment in new plant and equipment.

These reactions betrayed several kinds of "confidence," which economists would interpret by the following general maxims:

When the level of prices on the stock market goes up, this reflects confidence in a high rate of corporation profits. When the level of prices on the grain market goes up, it reflects confidence in the future demand for grain or in the prospect of higher government price supports. When the rate of expansion in new corporate plant goes up, it reflects confidence in the over-all growth of the American economy and continued high consumption. Each of these can be related to the Eisenhower Administration:

First, the stock market. Investors have good reason to know that the Eisenhower Administration provides a favorable climate for a high rate of profits. The Eisenhower tax reductions, it will be recalled, favored the corporation and the individual in the high-income brackets. Of the $7.4 billion cut from the nation's tax bill in 1954, 64 cents of each dollar in savings went to corporations, 26 cents went to individuals with income over $5,000 and six cents to individuals earning less than $5,000.

For example, Congress allowed the excess-profits tax to lapse, thus saving corporations $1.6 billion a year. Congress voted a double rate of depreciation on new corporate assets, thus saving corporations another $1 billion a year. The $3-billion cut in personal income taxes was apportioned largely to the upper brackets. And the provision of tax credit for income from dividends saved $500 million for the eight percent of the tax payers who own stocks.

The *New York Times* editorialized on January 24, 1954, that "The tax reform program that President Eisenhower laid before Congress this week seemed better than anything else to point up that his is a businessman's administration."

Tax concessions were not the only method whereby the Administration inspired confidence in profits. Mr. Eisenhower placed nearly all regulatory agencies of the Government in the hands of men who were drawn from the business which they were expected to regulate. The Eisenhower Administration offered a series of actions of benefit to individual industries, of which the most conspicuous were tidelands oil, natural gas, and private electric utilities which complained of competition from public power. These Republican gestures let loose the hopes of lobbyists for concessions to a variety of other industries. The personal awe with which President Eisenhower treated successful corporation executives —his favorite guests for stag dinners and golf foursomes—also added to the notion that anything business wanted, it was likely to get from this agreeable team.

All this was reflected in the shock felt by the stock market on the Monday following the heart attack. The break in prices was fortunately not as serious as at first supposed, but its political meaning remains significant.

Secondly, the strengthening of the grain market during the week after the President was stricken reflected the confidence of traders that a Democratic Administration might come back, either restore 90 percent parity payments or otherwise prop up farm income. Rightly or wrongly, the Eisenhower Administration is blamed for the farm difficulties, just as it is credited with corporation profits. (Although in no Eisenhower year have corporation's net profits equalled the all-time high of $22.5 billion attained under Truman in 1951.)

Thirdly, big corporations announced that they would continue substantial plant expansion. Within a week after the President's illness, Henry Ford II publicized a $500 million expansion program for his corporation in 1956, and Eastern Airlines announced a new $350 million procurement program in jet aircraft. A survey by the *New York Journal of Commerce* concluded that the illness of the President was not going to slow down the rate of capital investment. "Large corporations were virtually unanimous in agreeing that the outlook for business was so good that they could not justify any cutback in long-term or short-term expansion programs at this time," the *Journal* reported.

One corporation executive stated, "Even if the Republicans don't win, it would require quite a reversal in government policy by a Democratic President to slow down this boom. The Democrats might even inject more inflation into the economy. So we are going ahead with our program."

New plants under construction this year by large corporations are based upon economic projections made two, three and four years ago, some before Eisenhower came into office; and the decisions on new plants which are being announced today will affect business conditions two, three and four years hence. Such decisions are based upon an estimate of future demands, not on some mysterious ingredients called "confidence."

The present upsurge of plant investment began in 1949 under President Truman, continued at a rapid pace through the first six months of the Eisenhower Administration, then fell off, and had not reached the previous pace of expansion until the third quarter of 1955. In other words, corporations did not demonstrate an increased investment rate under Eisenhower.

If one were to take the pulse of American business confidence, based

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upon the reactions to the President's illness, the business community seems to express the following consensus on the prospect of a Democratic Administration:

1. Rate of corporation profits may drop.

2. The level of farm prices might rise.

3. The overall American economy will keep climbing to higher output, higher employment and higher consumption.

II. Who Makes the Fateful Decisions for Peace?

FEAR has receded that the powers of the US Presidency will be transferred at this time from Dwight D. Eisenhower to a man of different political morality. This fear gripped the entire Western World and cannot be said to be wholly dissipated. But with encouraging news from Denver and the fading of any legal transfer of powers, there has arisen a different anxiety, more difficult to diagnose and still more difficult to allay:

Assume Ike recovers normally and returns to duty well before the end of the year. His "normal recovery" means he is a reprieved cardiac patient, under doctor's advice to lighten his work load and avoid anxiety as far as possible. He returns to his desk with the same purposeful stride, though a little more deliberate; with the same grin, though a little wan; with the same alert mind, though tiring more easily.

"That means," wrote Eleanor Roosevelt in her newspaper column, "that his advice will be available and that he also will be able to make final decisions on important problems." So it does, and that is a vastly more reassuring situation than the alternative which seemed imminent when the President was stricken.

But the new situation, though welcome, poses new risks. It is no disrespect to the President to bring them out into the open. If Ike is unable to participate in policy discussions to the same extent as in the past, if he is unable to hold the reins quite as firmly, if he can not give that extra push to problems involving, in Walter Lippmann's words, "high and grave and ultimate decisions on which hang the issues of war and peace," will the course of Presidential leadership remain the same? Will we continue to sidestep provocations which might lead to nuclear war, and apply the same earnest efforts toward an honorable *modus vivendi* with the Soviet bloc?

It requires no feat of memory to recall situations during the first 32 months of the Eisenhower Administration when the President made decisions which were at odds with his chief cabinet officers, with the chairman of his Joint Chiefs of Staff, or with the chairman of the Republican National Committee. If we had operated then under "government by consensus," the system now proposed by Vice President Nixon, the history of the US and possibly of Western civilization might have been different.

No clairvoyance is needed, either, to identify approaching situations in the next 16 months which will pose the same kind of problems for a President who is under orders to slow down.

Looking back, for example, it was in March and April, 1954, that the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, seconded by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, recommended that the President be authorized by Congressional resolution to use American air and naval power for a strike in Indo-China to help relieve the fortress Dien Bien Phu, then under Communist siege. The proposal, if approved, would almost certainly have led the US into local war and opened grave possibilities for a drift into nuclear war. *NR* is informed by a former government aide who participated in a staff capacity in the Indo-China discussions that President Eisenhower himself, before Congressional leaders were consulted, made the decision that our allies must be consulted. Thus he headed off the lone military venture advocated by Radford and Dulles.

Again in September, 1954, when the conflict over Matsu and Quemoy was shaping up, Admiral Radford, again supported by Secretary Dulles, recommended to the President that Chiang Kai-shek be allowed to bomb inland Red China with the planes previously presented by the US, and if Red China retaliated with an all-out attack on the off-shore islands, American planes should join in the Nationalist bombing of the mainland. Almost certainly this meant American involvement in war. The Radford-Dulles recommendation was opposed by Matthew Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, and by the Undersecretary of State, Walter Bedell Smith. At a meeting of the National Security Council which the President called in Denver to resolve the issue, the President reportedly took a firm stand against any American action which might lead to nuclear war.

The President personally is the author of our policy of disengagement in the Far East. It was Ike who ordered the "releashing" of Chiang Kai-shek. It was Ike who ordered the current talks with Communist China at Geneva, and suggested that these talks might be followed by conversations between Secretary Dulles and the Communist Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai. These decisions would have been different if left to "government by consensus."

American participation in the Summit meeting of heads of states at Geneva last July was also an Eisenhower decision over the initial opposition of Secretary Dulles. The sensational Eisenhower proposal for aerial inspection, while not original with the President, certainly received serious attention only because of the President's earnest advocacy through negotiation, through correspondence with Russian leaders, and through press conference support. The pedestrian level to which the arms limitation talks have slipped in New York is an indication of how vital it is that disarmament receive that extra push from the President himself.

The success of Mr. Eisenhower in obtaining extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program in 1955 was another personal achievement. It was Mr. Eisenhower who suggested this bill be introduced as H.R. 1 and serve as the keystone of his program. Support of the tariff bill was never strong in the cabinet. Treasury Secretary George Humphrey's conversion is of recent origin. Commerce Secretary Weeks has knifed the program in the judgment of those businessmen who sought the extension of trade agreements. And Secretary Dulles has shown only perfunctory interest in economic matters, including tariffs, and at one time in early 1955, said he was too busy to testify on the trade bill.

One witness at a cabinet meeting when the Administration strategy for the tariff bill was laid out says the President pounded the conference table and warned that anyone on his team who failed to support the trade agreements could absent himself from the Administration. The bill passed but with new

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escape clauses which make possible many more appeals to the President for relief from low tariffs. These appeals will flow into the White House during the next 16 months. They will increase, not lessen, the burdens on the President.

Mr. Eisenhower has, for 32 months, left domestic policy-making largely to his subordinates, and while the "Eisenhower crusade" and the "Eisenhower program" both bear the President's name, it is only in a titular sense that the President has been connected with proposals on social security, school aid, health reinsurance, public roads and the preservation or dissipation of natural resources. Most of these programs already suffer from "government by consensus," representing as they do the least common denominator among the divergent views of devoted government technicians, indifferent cabinet administrators, and a Secretary of the Treasury who is determined to hold down expenses.

In only one domestic field has the President personally played a key role, and that surprisingly was in farm policy. Most farm advice has come to the President not from Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, but from the President's brother Milton Eisenhower, an old Department of Agriculture hand, and from Milton's friend, Dean William Myers of the School of Agriculture at Cornell University. These two men have spent many Sunday afternoons at the White House briefing the President on the reasons for the present farm policies. They have bent the President's ear more than any cabinet officer has had opportunity to do. Myers is an advocate of the classic free market and has opposed most forms of government intervention, even including farm price controls in wartime.

From the beginning of the Eisenhower Administration the farm program was a political liability which has pained Republican Party Chairman Leonard Hall and the key men of the Republican farm bloc in Congress. Undoubtedly they would have succeeded in forcing a compromise on flexible price supports if the President had not shown such attachment for the views of Brother Milton. Even now it is possible to say that if Mr. Eisenhower's health permits ready access of Republican politicos to his office in the coming months, a compromise on farm policy is likely, and with it the departure of Mr. Benson from the cabinet. But if the curtailment of Mr. Eisenhower's work schedule means only limited availability for staff discussion, both the flexible supports and Mr. Benson are likely to survive.

Looking to the next 16 months, it is more significant to ask what the effect will be upon those "ultimate decisions affecting war and peace."

The cabinet announced after its first meeting following the heart attack that "the policies and programs of the Administration as determined and approved by the President are well established" and "will continue by full co-operation among the responsible officers."

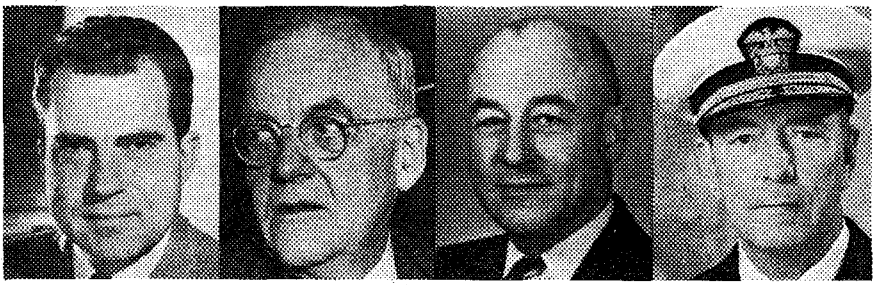
This undoubtedly is true for a period of months, although there is no Univac machine into which the Administration can feed the details of a changing world situation, accompanied by Mr. Eisenhower's maxims, and obtain an appropriate answer. Without the President's active participation the hazard of policy drift increases.

It is reassuring that President Eisenhower is better equipped than any previous President with an array of councils, commissions and planning boards which study the whole range of international questions and give the President the benefit of completed staff work. Aside from the cabinet, there is the National Security Council, which the President himself chairs. This is a cabinet level committee created by the National Security Act of 1947 to help assure consistent policies among the Departments of State and Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. There is also the cabinet level Council on Foreign Economic Policy, created by Mr. Eisenhower, and the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Fiscal Problems created by Mr. Truman. All of these bodies will continue of great help to the President in the coming 16 months.

Nevertheless, new situations will evolve in which only the President can make the new decisions, his health permitting. Here we can anticipate at least four such problems:

1. During the de facto cease-fire in the Formosa Straits, the planes of Chiang Kai-shek have continued to bomb Red China ships operating inside the three-mile limit off mainland China. The Communists have avoided retaliation and may continue to do so as long as there is hope for diplomatic gains in the talks with the US. The Soviet Union has undoubtedly encouraged such forbearance. But if the Chinese and Russians grow restless with the lack of gains for themselves in the post-Geneva era of smiles, the Chinese Reds may launch an aerial blockade of Matsu and Quemoy, and the US will be forced to make a decision on its support for Nationalist China under the Chinese-American treaty. The same voices that urged US involvement in 1954 remain at key posts in the Eisenhower team. In fact, Pentagon officers speak of the increasing "militarization" of John Foster Dulles, by which they mean his willingness to follow the views of Admiral Radford. Mr. Eisenhower almost certainly will be compelled to assume personal leadership in our Far Eastern policy if this situation develops.

2. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is in seriously weakened condition, melting under the warmth of Russian smiles. The British have voted to reduce their defenses following the American example. The French are withdrawing troops from Europe to North Africa. More than half the NATO countries have failed to fill their military pledges. General Alfred M. Gruenther, supreme commander of NATO forces, predicts that "the hardest period is coming" and that NATO will not be strong enough to resist all-out Communist aggression until West Germany is rearmed four years hence. If anyone alive could breathe new strength into NATO, it is President Eisenhower, who literally created the organization as its first commander. If he had the time and strength, he could do much to bolster the wavering alliance. NATO nations do not have the same respect for Dulles.



Nixon Dulles Humphrey Radford

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3. Harold Stassen is at loose ends in the UN disarmament talks, not because of any primary inadequacy but because the President's top policy makers are badly split on the question of what kind of disarmament scheme the United States can support if the Russians accept the President's aerial inspection proposal. The National Security Council postponed that question by insisting that the Russians must accept the first step—the atomic alarm system—before we show our hand on disarmament. But the Russians insist on peering farther down the road before they accept the first step.

The issue will be joined in the Big Four Foreign Ministers meeting at Geneva starting October 27, when Mr. Dulles will need new instructions. Since the Pentagon has consistently opposed any form of disarmament, all decisions on arms limitation since World War II have been made by the President. No one of lesser rank has that authority. It is reasonably certain that no decision can be reached before Mr. Dulles departs for Geneva and none will be made in 1956 unless the President feels vigorous enough to lead the policy discussion.

4. The Congress again in 1956 must ratify US participation in the general agreement on tariffs and trade, and its new administrative arm, the Organization of Economic Cooperation. And the opposition to reciprocal trade will be exploiting the election jitters in 1956 to seek relief for numerous industries. It will take determined pressure to maintain the gains already made. Unless the President can provide this leadership himself it is difficult to see where else in the Cabinet it will be found.

In facing these issues, the President will suffer two new handicaps, aside from his health. One is the 1956 Presidential race which will be waged within his own party and is likely to be reflected in expedient decisions by the Administration, or at any rate expedient recommendations to the President.

The other handicap is the curtailment of Mr. Eisenhower's own Presidential powers because it is no longer assumed that he will run again, and win again, and remain President for five years. This assumption that he would remain President until 1961, wrote James Reston of the *New York Times,* "was the great factor that minimized the mutinous tendencies in the Republican Party and restrained the Democrats." Nothing that the President can do now will restore the full power that flows to a political leader who is considered unbeatable.

If a shift in the center of gravity takes place in the Administration, that shift is less likely to be toward an individual like Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams, or Vice President Nixon, than toward the general area of the military. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have won support for their views from Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles most of the time. This group represents the area of widest consensus. In the event of the ultimate disaster—the death of the President before the end of his first term—the gravitational pull of the military upon the youthful successor would be all but irresistible.

Stevenson's Star Shines More Brightly

THE INCREASED value of the Democratic nomination, now that it is assumed President Eisenhower will retire from politics in 1956, has greatly increased Adlai Stevenson's chances of renomination.

Before the President's illness, when both parties assumed he would run and probably win again, Averell Harriman was gaining ground on Stevenson. Organization Democrats liked the idea of a candidate who would name one of their kind to head the Democratic National Committee. Win or lose, Tammany leader Carmine De Sapio would take over from the Stevenson "reform" leadership of the party if Harriman was the nominee. Harriman had proved he could carry New York, almost essential to Democratic victory, whereas Stevenson had lost the state to Eisenhower in 1952. It would be easier to raise money for Harriman than for Stevenson, they believed. And Southerners were not expected to protest Harriman's racial views strongly, considering the slight chance he had of getting in the White House.

De Sapio's plan was for Harriman to continue declaring "I'm for Stevenson," while his backers lined up delegates for Harriman. They would wait for Stevenson to declare his candidacy in November as promised, and watch him battle to keep his popularity curve rising for the nine months until the convention. De Sapio's plan counted heavily on the help of Estes Kefauver. If Kefauver entered most of the 19 Presidential preference primaries in 1956, how could Stevenson, an announced candidate, refuse to compete with him? If Kefauver upset Stevenson in one or more primaries, the way might be clear for Harriman in the convention.

But now that there is a chance to win, organization Democrats want the candidate who will make the best race, regardless. Harriman's age (63, only one year younger than Eisenhower) and his limited speaking ability become important. The desire to be on the bandwagon of a possible winner "before Chicago" impels the professionals toward Stevenson, with his high Gallup Poll rating among Democrats (Stevenson, 55%; Kefauver, 16%; Harriman, 6%) and against the most likely Republican: (Nixon, 39%; Stevenson, 61%). The Southerners, far happier at the thought of Stevenson in the White House than Harriman or Kefauver, indicate that they will move to Stevenson in a bloc, if necessary, to head off Kefauver or Harriman.

Stevenson decided many weeks ago to declare his candidacy for President on November 19 at a Democratic rally in Chicago. He still intends to do that. In preparation he has added practical publicity men to his staff, broadened his unofficial strategy board to include more professional politicians, gently moved his "egghead" advisers toward the back room, and agreed to cultivate a more "down-to-earth" appearance with the public.

The Stevenson strategy is to get out in front on November 19, and stay there.

Two days after November 19, Governor Harriman will start out campaigning too, with public power speeches scheduled in Idaho, Oregon and Washington, and an earlier farm policy address in Iowa.

Senator Kefauver will return from Asia this week to find that supporters have rented an elaborate Washington headquarters for him, with rent paid a year in advance. And other admirers are already circulating petitions to enter his name in next spring's primaries.

Kefauver may still seriously weaken Stevenson in the primaries, as De Sapio planned. But meanwhile De Sapio has lost his most telling arguments with the professionals he was counting on finally to decide things in Harriman's favor.

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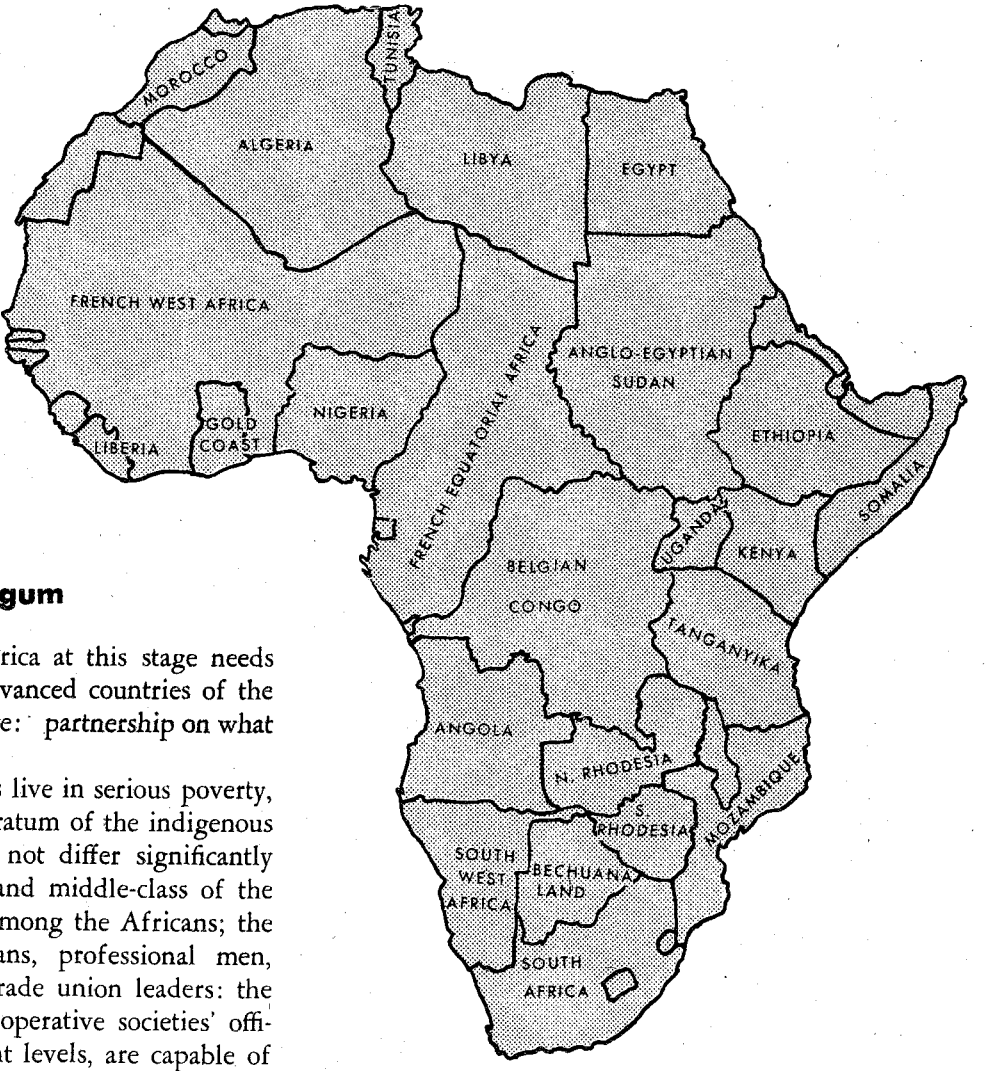
To Whom Will The Future Belong?

Africa is in doubt. How profound is the West's allegiance to the cause of freedom?



by Colin Legum

IF it is to progress, clearly Africa at this stage needs partnership with the more advanced countries of the world. The vital questions are: partnership on what terms, and with which countries?

The great majority of Africans live in serious poverty, but in every country there is a stratum of the indigenous population whose position does not differ significantly from that of the working-class and middle-class of the West. These are the educated among the Africans; the teachers, civil servants, politicians, professional men, traders, craftsmen, technicians, trade union leaders: the independent farmers and the co-operative societies' officials; the people who, at different levels, are capable of operating Western institutions. This elite in Africa is a tiny minority: to put it at two percent, is probably an overestimate.

Two serious problems have emerged with this elite. The first is the relationship between the elite of Africa and the West; and the second is the relationship between the elite and the backward peoples of their own countries, with whom, often, they have much less in common than with people in the West.

This two-percent elite forms a bridge between their own societies and the West. Only through them is it possible for the West to maintain its influence. If they turn against the West there is no indigenous movement that can uphold Western culture and nurture its growth in Africa. The present danger is that this precious human asset—the growing-points of the new society—will be frittered away; that thoughtless action will weaken its influence, frustrate it, embitter it, and possibly turn its active alliance with the West into bitter enmity.

Contrary to what one might expect, relations between these elites and the White communities is generally worse than it is between the backward, under-developed Africans and the Whites. Thus the White community of South Africa, while getting on relatively well with the "raw" African, is engaged in a bitter struggle with the African (and the Asian) elite. In Kenya and Central Africa it is, again, the African elite and the Whites who disagree most violently. In those plural societies, the West is in danger of destroying its influence by conflicts between those who should be close allies. And in the purely African territories the movement for independence, involving a political struggle against the colonial power, is led by the two percent.

France, conscious of this danger, seeks to promote identity of interests between itself and the African elite by giving them the same political rights as French

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citizens enjoy. But, so far, the danger of this policy is that of splitting the African elite from their own people, thus creating a wide gap between the small group of prosperous, educated and politically advanced Africans and the mass of their own people.

World War II was the watershed that marked the change in relations between the Western powers and the colored races of the world. At the outbreak of the war most countries in Asia and Africa were either directly or indirectly under the domination of the West. Yet within five years of the war's ending a remarkable transformation had taken place in Asia: all but two important countries—Indo-China and Malaya—had gained their independence. The Asian revolution had a direct impact on Africa. It also helped to make clear what was not easily acceptable to the West: that the revolt of the non-Western peoples against Western ascendancy is a worldwide movement in which all non-White people share a common emotional involvement.

This movement sharply accelerated the demand in Africa for "freedom from colonial rule," for internal self-government, and complete independence. And the leaders of the movement were the African elite—the two percent. They quickly proved that despite their numerical weakness they could command a vast following among the other 98 percent. For they speak a language of revolt and express a desire for "freedom" which cannot be countered with physical weapons.

The leaders of this nationalist movement do not stop to ask themselves whether they are equipped to govern in an independent country or to maintain the high standards of administration established by the colonial powers. Their goal is freedom: careful consideration of what may follow they are prepared to leave until after their goal is reached. So, although it is true that with the possible exception of the Sudan and Tunisia, none of the dependencies has sufficient trained personnel even to staff its own government, this does not deter the leaders from forcing the pace of the struggle for self-government.

THE real problem facing those countries which have advanced to within reach of this goal is how to use their independence to achieve real, not illusory, freedom; to expand rather than diminish the wealth, and strengthen rather than weaken the security of their people; to widen opportunities for individual liberty; and to maintain their independence in a world ravaged by conflicting ideologies.

The real test for the leaders of the independence movement lies ahead: the success of their achievements is to be judged not by the success they have had in gaining political control, but by how far the future will justify their claim to be able to run their own countries for the greatest good of all the people on whose behalf they have successfully sued for freedom.

The prime contention of those who are opposed to rapid political development in Africa is usually that "political development must not outpace economic development." This view wins ready acceptance. But it is a dangerous argument because while propounding an obvious truth it distorts perspective by ignoring practical realities.

IT IS impracticable to hold up political progress in a time of revolutionary change such as Africa, in common with Asia, is now experiencing. So rapid a political advance may be undesirable, but who has discovered the art of postponing a revolution once it has got under way? It may be possible to prevent the revolution from maturing fully or to divert its direction to some extent. But any such maneuver calls for a willingness to go with and not against the pressure of movement. And this means accepting rapid and radical political change.

It is, however, possible and often desirable to halt the revolutionary force with the consent of its leaders—once it has achieved certain goals. This is what the astute Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, succeeded in doing. It is also, to a lesser extent, what Mr. Oliver Lyttelton did in Nigeria. But each time it meant first winning the confidence, and thus ensuring the consent, of the leaders by agreeing on an objective: in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria the revolution has been slowed down, though by no means halted, at a point just short of full independence, by conceding internal self-government.

Where then lies the sense in clinging to the argument that "political development must not outpace economic development?" But since there is a truth hidden in this statement, how can the proposition be recast to give it validity in the context of today's burgeoning Africa? The answer can be found by putting the horse before the cart, thus: "Economic development must keep pace with political development."

Put that way around, the argument is unassailable. It is a fact that economic development in Africa has been inadequate. Responsibility for this failure must be shared by Africans and the West: by the Africans when they have shown (understandable but none the less unfortunate) unwillingness to respond to disinterested attempts to help them; and by the West because of the low priority its economic schedules have accorded to Africa. In tackling the hard facts of economics, African leaders must show the same imaginative qualities they used in awakening their people to the political challenge of the times. And the West must make good its public undertaking to promote economic expansion through ideas and projects such as the United Nations Technical Aid programs, the American Point Four program, the International Bank, and an African version of the Colombo Plan. The West must pump into the con-

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tinent the vast quantities of investment capital, and capital goods, needed to prevent Africa's developing the sort of serious wobble that accompanies maladjustments between political and economic development.

Africa is the last of the great continents to free itself from foreign rule. There are even now only five countries that enjoy political independence: South Africa, Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt and Libya; with the Sudan rapidly casting off the garments of dependency.

But Egypt is still engaged in the struggle to achieve complete territorial sovereignty; Libya has only just begun to function as an independent state; Ethiopia is busy re-creating itself after liberation from the Western conqueror; and Liberia is hardly able to stand on its own economic feet. Only South Africa, with a government exclusively in the hands of Whites, has enjoyed political and economic independence over the past 20 years.

If little Libya, poor and weak, qualifies for independence, why not its more powerful neighbors: Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria? Because Libya was a part of the Italian empire which was destroyed in the Second World War, and the others are part of the still extant French empire. More important perhaps is the fact that though numerically they are relatively small, the French White settlers are firmly planted in North Africa.

The North African indigenes see another anomaly. The Gold Coast, they point out, is moving rapidly towards full independence, yet it is no more highly developed than they are. How justify this state of affairs? The explanation lies in the fact that the colonial policy of France—like the colonial policy of Belgium, Portugal and Spain—is significantly different from Britain's on the important question of ultimate independence. Only Britain's colonial policy promises full self-government and "independence within the Commonwealth." Since any member of the Commonwealth has the right to secede whenever it chooses to do so, there are no political strings attached to this promise of independence. The other colonial powers do not envisage the possibility of their African territories seceding from the metropolitan center. France is willing to allow its "overseas territories" to achieve internal autonomy and to have them send elected representatives to the French Assembly in Paris. Belgium vigorously pursues social and economic development but denies political rights to its colonies. Spain and Portugal merely deny to Africans the political rights they also deny to Spaniards and Portuguese at home.

Thus, African territories which through accidents of history find themselves under the control of one rather than another of the European powers, have unequal opportunities to achieve independence. National independence movements in non-British territories are encouraged by the growth of independence in British territories. And this encouragement produces tensions between the European colonial powers. Finally Africans complain that colonial powers, with interests of their own, have made themselves the sole arbiters of when a dependency may be capable of standing on its own feet.

[In next week's issue Mr. Legum will conclude his examination of the problems posed for the West by the rise of African nationalism.]

No Surrender in Farmville, Virginia

Townsmen describe how they expect to defy the Supreme Court segregation decision

by Haldore Hanson

A REPORTER with a Yankee accent suffers several handicaps in the South. Negroes will tell him only what they think he wants to hear. Whites will give their side of the question as persuasively as they know how. And the reporter's Northern background provides no comprehension of how Negroes feel about Jim Crow laws, or whites about integration.

These handicaps crossed my mind when I pulled my car to the side of the road about 70 miles west of Richmond, once capital of the Confederacy, at an historical marker which reads, "ENTER PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY."

During 300 years of quiet agricultural existence (tobacco, corn and hogs) the English settlers in this county and their descendants broke into the news only twice. The first was in April, 1865, when the Confederacy fought its last bloody engagement at a local stream called Saylor's Creek, losing 12,000 men and six generals. Two days later General Lee surrendered about 30 miles away at Appomattox. These events have dimmed for most Americans, but people hereabouts refer to them as familiarly as most Americans recall Pearl Harbor or the Battle of the Bulge.

The second publicity came in 1954 when Prince Edward County was one of five defendants in the historic

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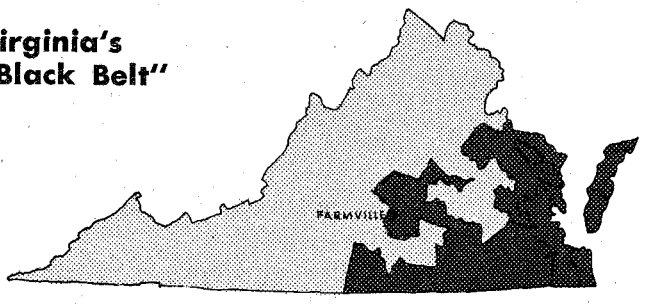
Virginia's "Black Belt"



The "black belt" of Virginia consists of 24 counties in which Negroes comprise more than 50 percent of the school enrollment.

Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools. The Superintendent of Schools and members of the School Board now stand as convicted prisoners before the bar, granted probation if they will make "a prompt and reasonable" start toward compliance with the Court ruling. But the county leaders have announced that the schools will remain segregated, or they will be closed altogether.

This article reports some interviews with Prince Edward County leaders, both white and Negro. None of the white leaders fits the stereotype of Southern night riders, but they tell a stranger without hesitation how they will evade the Court order, and they are eager to describe their new white-supremacy organization which will fight with legislation rather than bedsheets and burning crosses.

Local Negro leaders also fail to fit the preconceptions. The majority of Negroes here did not ask for integrated schools, and many of them—perhaps a majority—would prefer even now not to send their children to white schools. But they hate Jim Crow laws and say so.

The defiance of this county has been compared by the *Richmond News Leader* to a remotely similar case in 1859 when the U. S. Supreme Court ordered the state of Wisconsin to return a runaway slave to his master, and the Wisconsin Supreme Court told the federal judges in Washington to go sit on a tack. That is how the newspaper drew the comparison, approvingly.

The Setting

PRINCE EDWARD County (pop. 15,000) is in the "black belt" of Virginia, a phrase much used hereabouts to describe 24 counties in which Negro school pupils outnumber the whites. These counties lie in the southeast quarter of the state. They comprise the tobacco-growing district, into which English planters moved along the rivers back of Jamestown and brought in slaves to man their plantations. English names like Wall, Dahl, Lodge, Taylor, Crawford and Hanbury still predominate in the white population.

The county seat is Farmville, a town with a brisk business district and a half square mile of tree-shaded residential streets. One end of Main Street begins at the Norfolk and Western railroad terminal and the 5-story tobacco warehouses, where Negroes roll giant hogsheads of tobacco onto flatcars for shipment to Austria and Scandinavia. The other end of Main Street ends at the campus of Longwood Teachers' College. Just outside the town is the Presbyterian men's college, Hampden-Sydney, third oldest in America (antedated only by Harvard and William and Mary). The 200 shops along Main Street are all presided over by white proprietors and clerks, but half the customers are black.

War industry passed by Farmville's 4,300 people, and so did the migration of industry from New England. The pattern of economic life has remained substantially unchanged since that unfortunate event at Appomattox 90 years ago.

One of the white leaders of Farmville is Barrye Wall, the greying publisher and editor of the *Farmville Herald*, whose publication is one of the best and most profitable county papers in the East. At his office in a two-story brick publishing plant which he owns, Wall turned out to be a short, friendly man with an habitual stub of cigar in his mouth. It was he who promoted the outstanding community hospital. He is a past president of the Virginia Press Association, and his editorials offering temporate support of school segregation are widely reprinted in the South.

He tilted his chair against the wall and asked politely, "What are you going to do to us?" Reporters, he said, had come to Farmville from New York, Chicago and Minneapolis. They all asked the same questions, and wrote their stories from preconceptions. When he was told this article would present whatever he wanted to say, he shot back: "All right, put this down. White and Negro leaders here could work this out if outsiders would leave us alone. Our two races lived peaceably for 200 years. White people here all have colored friends. By and large our colored people are happy."

But the trouble, he said, was brought from the outside by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "They raised the money up North for the lawsuit. They hired the Negro law firm in Richmond. They circulated the petition among our Negroes. Our people did not even know what they were signing."

To support the last statement the publisher recalled how some Richmond newspaper reporters had interviewed the 100 Negro families whose names appeared on the Supreme Court petition. The majority said they preferred to send their children to separate Negro schools. And some did not know the meaning of the word "desegregation."

"Do you know what the N double-A C P did then?" Wall asked. "They sent those Richmond lawyers to hold a mass meeting in our colored community. After two hours of brain washing, they announced everyone favored desegregation. But they would not open the door of the meeting for a white reporter."

Wall drove me around the town to look at the schools which had prompted the lawsuit. The first was a mod-

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est brick school flanked by two barrack-like structures covered with tarpaper. This group of buildings, he said, had been the Negro high school until 1954. Farmville, like most other communities, had a tremendous influx of high-school pupils at the end of the war. The temporaries were erected as extra Negro classrooms. The white high school never did get its needed addition. But Negro high-school pupils went on strike in 1951 because the temporaries were cold and the roofs leaked.

We drove next to the $850,000 stately colonial building, surrounded by acres of playing fields, which was constructed for Negroes after the strike. Inside the tile walls are immaculate, the auditorium is like a big city theatre, and the vocational shops are spacious. Wall said the white residents of the community, who pay 86 percent of the taxes, had gone into debt three-quarters of a million dollars to build this school for Negroes, and less than a year after it opened, the Supreme Court ordered an end to segregation. A Negro girl in this school asked after the latest Supreme Court ruling, "Does that mean we must let white folks in our school now?"

At the white high school which we visited next, the wooden floors of the 1928 building were uneven, the classrooms poorly lighted by today's standards, and the shops cramped in the furnace room. We found the Negro caretaker of this building asleep beside his mop pail on the floor of the gymnasium, with a portable radio tuned to a Dodger-Giants game.

The residential streets through which we drove on our way back to Wall's office were shaded with elms, and the homes of white and Negro stood side by side. Farmville has its "Catfish Row" for poor Negro families near the railroad tracks, and an area for poor whites near the warehouses, but on the whole the town is a prosperous sample of middle-class America. That is the picture of Farmville which the white leaders show to the visitor.

A Negro Preacher's View

If the Negro view of life in this town is less pleasant, the man to say so is the Negro Baptist preacher, Francis Griffin, who also heads the local chapter of the NAACP. He is a man in his thirties who lives in a new brick house on Ely Street, around the corner from Longwood College campus. His three small children played beside us on the porch of his home as he talked.

Farmville has the usual Southern practices—no Negroes allowed in restaurants, hotels or barber shops and only a balcony for Negroes at one of the theatres ("the crow's nest," Griffin called it with a chuckle). Negro physicians are not allowed to practice at the hospital, but Negro patients are admitted to segregated wards.

If the local newspaper prints news about Negroes, it is segregated under the label of "Colored News." "That isn't necessary," the preacher commented drily. "If a baby is born to Mr. and Mrs. John Smith, you should know it is white. If it is born to John and Annie Smith, you should know it is colored. It's a kind of journalese."

But Reverend Griffin said these are not the things about Jim Crow practices that hurt the most. "It's something inside of you. I guess you have to be a Negro to understand."

Searching for an illustration, he recounted his experience as chairman of the building committee for the Negro PTA during 1949-1951, when Negro high-school pupils were still using the temporaries. "Every school board meeting I went to with cap in hand," he said. "The Board members were white businessmen. Sometimes they lectured me on the high cost of schools. Sometimes they couldn't spare any time. After two years, they told me not to come back any more. They would let me know when it was time to build a school."

"Before the PTA could decide what to do next," he concluded, "the kids went on strike. I am convinced we will live through this same experience again in 15 or 20 years unless we get rid of the segregation laws."

What about the report that Negroes in Prince Edward County don't really want integrated schools?

"They do and they don't," he answered with unexpected candor. "At least 90 percent of our Negroes would like to see legal segregation end immediately. Maybe 10 percent think the time is not right. But if we get those laws off the books, and the Negro is then given his choice of attending a white or a Negro school, most would choose a Negro school, even now."

If that is so, I asked, what is all this talk about the Negro wanting social equality and intermarriage?

"Negroes around here are not interested in going into white folks homes and things like that," he said. "I should know, because I listen to their problems all week. They prefer the company of their own people. During the war when I was with the Quartermaster Corps in Italy, I remember that whenever a Negro soldier entered a USO hut which was unsegregated, he would stop at the door, look around, and join any Negro buddies in the place. They don't resent white folks. I guess it is an inferiority complex. But that's the way it is here."

Have there been any violence or economic reprisals growing out of the lawsuit?

He shook his head vigorously. "Farmville Negroes feared they would lose their jobs but nothing happened. The only jobs Negroes can hold in this town," he said, "are janitors and maids at the colleges, or as laborers on the railroads and in the warehouses, or as unskilled workers in a couple of factories. A high-school graduate must leave the county to get a suitable job. Most of them do. I've had whole families from my church migrating North to give their children a chance at jobs."

How do Negro farmers feel about segregation?

"Farmers will drive 20 miles to attend a PTA meeting whenever we discuss the lawsuit," he said. "We have 600 Negro farm families in the county, and 500 own their own farms. They don't make much of a living,

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but they have electricity now, and are buying tractors to replace their mules. Nobody bosses them. They are the backbone of the lawsuit."

In my notes on this interview I find not one harsh remark by the preacher about the white leaders of the community. There is a gentleness and restraint in Negro leaders like the Reverend Griffin which is difficult to account for. But others in the community told me that bitterness is building up.

Anticipation of Trouble

For example, Robert Taylor is a young white contractor in Farmville, a man about Preacher Griffin's age. Both have young children, and both show a real compassion for the racial problem. But there the similarity ends.

"My wife and I," Taylor told me in his office panelled with magnificent woods, "spend many, many nights talking this over. There must not be integration. It just must not happen. We would rather have our children miss a year or two of school than face the kind of bitterness and brawling that mixed schools will bring."

Taylor said he has many close informants in the Negro community because half his employees and half his customers are colored. These people say to him behind the closed door of his office, "There's hatred building up like we've never known before. There's going to be trouble. Some night the town constable is going to try to arrest a Negro, and his friends are going to say there won't be any arrest. Somebody gets shot, and then there will be fighting all over town."

Taylor says he has organized a group of white and Negro leaders who have met several times to talk over how to head off this kind of trouble. "Both sides are afraid of it," he said, "but trouble isn't coming from the leaders. It's the poor white farmers who feel most violently. Ever since the War Between the States those poor whites have had only one satisfaction, and that is cuffing the Negro around. If we get mixed schools, their children will start the fighting."

Taylor was the only Farmville man I talked to who mentioned politics in the school problem. He said he supported Eisenhower in 1952, and so did the other white leaders "because Ike promised to let local communities solve the civil-rights problem. But Eisenhower appointed Warren to the Supreme Court with a prior commitment on the segregation case. Republicans are as bad as New Dealers on this issue."

I asked the County Superintendent of Schools, Thomas McIlwaine, to give me his professional judgment on what integration would do to the schools. He was understandably cautious—he is one of the Supreme Court defendants, has held his job for 40 years, and is blamed by some in the community for the present troubles because he did not recommend a new building for Negroes soon enough. He offered three comments on integration.

First, there is a learning gap of about 2.5 years between white and Negro pupils above the fourth grade. This shows up in the Iowa Silent Reading Test, in the California Mental Maturity Test, in the American Council on Education Psychological Test. The gap has been consistent throughout the state of Virginia, and over the 7-year period of testing.

"If we are ordered to carry out horizontal integration," the superintendent said, "that is, to combine white and Negro pupils according to their present grade, the teacher who now has an aptitude range of three years among white pupils in one classroom will find a range of five to six years in a mixed class. It means far less attention for both the retarded child and the gifted child. Both races will suffer."

As for school activities, he thought sports, dances and student government would be discontinued altogether. "Maybe it would work up North," he said, "but the mothers in our PTA's would be against it in our community where 58 percent of the students are Negro."

"Sexual promiscuity is what they fear most," he added, and looked out the window in silence for a long time. He said Negro teachers report sexual advances by students right in the classroom. County health statistics for 1954 show 215 illegitimate births among Negroes, mostly among girls under 25, and some among pupils at the new $850,000 high school. There were four illegitimate births among white women in the county in the same period, none among white school pupils.

McIlwaine said these are some of the things that worry the professional educators.

The next time I saw Preacher Griffin, I asked about these school problems. "There are bound to be setbacks for both sides," was his comment. He thought the poor showing of Negro children in state tests reflected poor home conditions—no magazines, no books, no vacation travel, no stimulating conversation. "How can they catch up," he asked, "if you don't put them in competition with white children?"

A Kitty for White Schools

Louis Dahl, the middle-aged man who manages the Army-Navy store on Main Street, is treasurer of the private corporation established to operate the white schools of Prince Edward County this year if the Federal District Court orders integration during the school year. He was leaning on the sporting goods counter when I showed him a clipping about a mass meeting in Farmville on June 8, 1955, at which 1,250 white residents voted to raise $212,000 for white teachers' salaries.

Since that meeting, Mr. Dahl said, a sum just under $200,000 has been pledged, and the corporation has written to all white teachers assuring them of jobs if the Board of Supervisors decides to close the public schools. Many $5 and $10 contributions were received from as far away as Florida and Alabama, but most of the money

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represents local pledges. For classrooms the corporation would use homes, churches and barns. The Virginia Attorney General has ruled that existing schools could not be leased for segregated classes.

The corporation has long-range plans, Dahl said. The Board of Supervisors would be asked to lower the county tax rate by the exact amount that schools formerly cost; then citizens would be asked to contribute this amount to the corporation. If these contributions could be made deductible from the state income tax, the private schools would actually cost local people less.

I asked what would happen to Negro schools if all this comes about. "They will have to take care of themselves," he said.

He left me to wait on a Negro family at the shoe counter, and I noticed, as I went out the door, that both the white proprietor and Negro customer were bantering.

Peaceful Ku Kluxers

BOB CRAWFORD, a man in his sixties who runs a block-long laundry plant in Farmville, is the organizer of the new type white supremacy organization known as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. He is a six-footer whose trim physique suggests a college crewman a little past his prime. His warm personality seems appropriate to the state Rotary Club service award which hangs over his desk in the laundry.

Crawford denies a similarity between his Defenders and the Klan. "If this community should suffer just one incident of klannism, our white case is lost," he said earnestly. "No matter who starts it, the whites will be blamed. We must not have it."

He was equally emphatic about hate literature. "Just because we favor separate schools, people think we are stirring up hatred for the Negro. They send me literature attacking Jews, Catholics, foreign born and Negroes. It all goes in there," he said, pointing to his waste basket. But he did give me two pamphlets entitled "The Pope Approves Segregation" and "The Bible Answers the Race Question."

Crawford explained his philosophy this way. "I believe that separate schools will produce the most progress for both races, and for that reason I am willing to help both races." He recalled his experience as a School Board member for 20 years, ending in 1947. He said he helped organize the first Negro elementary school, the first Negro high school, and personally pushed through the first Negro playgrounds. "Why, my wife and I used to go to the Negro church to sing with their choir. We felt it helped the community. But you can't do that any more. It would not be understood by either race."

Turning to the school segregation question, he said solemnly, "Mixing children in school is the beginning of the end for both races. It is inevitable that children who play together from the age of five will not stop at 18. There will be intermarriage. And that means mongrelization of the black race and degeneracy for the whites." Over and over in Farmville I heard those two words, mongrelization and degeneracy.

When I asked what the Defenders proposed to do about it, he handed me a pamphlet entitled "A Plan for Virginia." It called for a repeal of the state requirement for public schools, and a substitute statute which permits tax monies to be used to pay tuition and educational expenses for children in private schools. Crawford has spent most of the past year organizing chapters of the Defenders in all the counties of Virginia, and plugging for the private school plan.

As I rose to leave, he added this historical touch. "Robert E. Lee was defeated at Gettysburg because he found a soft spot in the opposing ranks, and drove a wedge too far. The Northerners crushed his flanks. Now our Negro friends have made the same mistake. In demanding integrated schools they have driven the wedge too far, and will be forced to retreat."

As I drove out of Prince Edward County, I was still aware of the limitations of a Yankee reporter in the South, and was able to reach only this much of a conclusion: A visitor who judges school segregation solely as a moral issue will find a situation in Farmville which favors immediate merging of colored and white schools; but if the moral issue is placed alongside practical community problems, both imagined and real, the evidence commends a cautious approach over a period of years, a viewpoint apparently shared by the Supreme Court.

White leaders of Farmville accept neither approach. They will evade the Supreme Court decision altogether, and defiance so far looks easy. Sometime this coming winter or spring, the Federal District Court is expected to issue a new order, setting a deadline when a start must be made on ending segregation in this county. Then, by present plans, the public schools will be closed and private schools for whites only will take their place.

THIS is a retreat to fixed positions which bears resemblance to the life of Farmville's hometown military hero, Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston. Longwood, the general's Gone-with-the-Wind-style home is a local shrine, and he is spoken of with reverence second only to God and Lee. But in real life Johnston was a Confederate model of Douglas MacArthur, a man jealous of military rank, who feuded with Jefferson Davis and spent the war retreating from fixed positions until he surrendered to his worst enemy—Sherman.

Now the townsmen are faced with an enemy they despise more than Sherman—the NAACP. They have prepared their retreat. But under the code of Virginia Gentlemen, they dare not mention a new Appomattox, which in any case may be far away.

Haldore Hanson, a Virginia farmer, contributes regularly to The New Republic.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Loneliness at the Core

by Hugh Holman

THOMAS WOLFE'S *Look Homeward, Angel* fell on critically evil days, and they have taken their toll of its reputation, if not of its steadily increasing number of readers. It was published the month of the 1929 stock market crash, lived the first decade of its existence in the sociological and Marxist-minded thirties, and presented to politically sensitive critics a hero of whom its author approvingly wrote: ". . . he did not care under what form of government he lived—Republican, Democrat, Tory, Socialist, or Bolshevist. . . . He did not want to reform the world, or to make it a better place to live in." That hero, Eugene Gant, was hardly in tune with the intellectual temper of his times.

RE-ASSESSMENT: 1955

It is a frankly autobiographical book, "a story of the buried life," written by a man who, by his own confession, "failed to finish a single book of . . . [Henry] James." Yet its whole existence has been during a time when the technical and formal considerations of Henry James have triumphantly established themselves as the proper criteria for fiction. For a book largely devoid of the traditional fictional or dramatic structure, almost naïvely innocent of "crucial plot," and seemingly dedicated to the lyrical expression of emotion not very tranquilly recollected, the age of Jamesian criticism has proved patronizingly hostile.

As Herbert Muller, by no means an unfriendly critic of Wolfe, has said:

> His limitations may be exposed most clearly on his own ground, by setting his novels beside such other autobiographical novels as *Sons and Lovers, Of Human Bondage, The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Remembrance of Things Past.* In these the hero is a creation, not a *nom de plume*, and his life a work of art, not a flood of memories. In this company Wolfe appears a very artless young man.

In such a context of critical opinion it has required effort to maintain a serious attitude toward Wolfe and his first book, *Look Homeward, Angel*, which is almost universally acknowledged to be his best novel—effort that few serious critics have made.

I believe that my experience is fairly typical. I belong to the generation that read *Look Homeward, Angel* when it was new and they were very young. It wove for me an evocative spell as complete as any book ever has. It seemed to me that this was not a book; it was life and life as I knew it. I brought to it, a very young book, the naïve and uncritical response of the very young. Such an attitude did not survive, and in a very few years I became aware of the irresponsibility, the rhetorical excess, and the formless confusion of the book.

To go back to *Look Homeward, Angel* in 1955 and seriously to read it has been an experience in some ways as startling as the initial reading was, and it has made me aware that it is a different book from what I had thought and a much better one.

The standard view of *Look Homeward, Angel* has assumed one of three attitudes: that literal autobiography very thinly disguised constitutes the important portion of the book; that what form it has was given it by the editor Maxwell Perkins rather than its author; and that the book is most interesting in terms of Wolfe's acknowledged and pervasive debt to James Joyce.

The first attitude has resulted in a mass of biographical data, but, as Louis D. Rubin has recently pointed out, the value of the book must ultimately be determined in terms of its quality as *novel* rather than its accuracy as personal history. The second attitude reached the epitome of critical severity with Bernard DeVoto's "Genius is not Enough," and Wolfe is today generally credited with the major, if not the sole part in determining the form of his first two books.

The debt to Joyce, although everywhere obvious, seems to me almost nowhere truly significant. The least admirable portions of *Look Homeward, Angel* are those very portions where the ghost of *Ulysses* hovers visibly on the sidelines—portions such as the well-known record of the schoolboys' trip home from school, with its ironic pattern of mixed quotation so reminiscent of Joyce.

I think the first thing that strikes the mature reader who goes back to *Look Homeward, Angel* is the realization that it is a book enriched by a wealth of humor and saved from mawkishness by a pervasive comic spirit. This quality of the book is usually lost on its young readers, because the young very seldom see much amusing in themselves. Yet everywhere in this book one is aware that it is a very young book, not because its attitudes are themselves very young, but because it is a record of the inner and outer life of a very young boy.

The author looks back at youth with longing and love, but also with a steady but tolerant amusement. This is nowhere more apparent than in the hyperbolically presented day-dreams of "Bruce-Eugene" and in the very youthful posturing of the college student so earnestly set upon dramatizing himself. The humor is itself sometimes very poor and very seldom of the highest order. It is satire directed with crude bluntness; it is hyperbole lacking in finesse; it is *reductio ad absurdum* without philosophical seriousness. Wolfe is not a great comic writer, but his comic sense gives distance and depth to his picture of his youthful self.

FOR all its rhetorical exclamation about emotion, *Look Homeward, Angel* is a book firmly fixed in a sharply realized and realistically presented social environment. The book comes to us almost entirely through Eugene Gant's perceptions, but what he perceives is very often Altamont and Pulpit Hill (Asheville and Chapel Hill, N. C.) and he perceives them with a wealth of accurate detail. At this stage of his career, Thomas Wolfe had few serious pronouncements to make about man as a social animal (in his later career he was to attempt to make many), but he had a realist's view of his world.

It is a view colored, too, by a broadly

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Agrarian attitude, however much he was contemptuous of the Agrarians as a group. His picture of Altamont is a picture of a place mad with money and size, of a people submerging everything of value in valueless wealth. This view, the sword on which Eliza Gant is first hoist and then eviscerated, extends from the family to the life of the town and finally to the imagery of the whole book. As an example (and it is but one of hundreds), when he hears his idol-brother Ben talking sententious business-man nonsense, "Eugene writhed to hear this fierce condor prattle this stale hash of the canny millionaires, like any obedient parrot in a teller's cage."

Further, we perceive as a rediscovery that beneath the extravagant rhetoric, the badly and baldly rhythmic passages—the ones that eager young men reprint as bad free verse—there is a truly lyric quality in Wolfe's writing. With an abnormally keen memory for sensory perceptions, what Wolfe called his "more than ordinary . . . power to evoke and bring back the odors, sounds, colors, shapes, and feel of things with concrete vividness," he is able to bring to bear vicariously on our five senses the precise content of a given scene and to make it poignantly and palpably real.

And here he works, not as a rhetorician asking us to imagine an emotion, but as an imagist rubbing "the thing" against our exposed nerve ends and thereby calling forth the feeling. It is, perhaps, in this ability to use authentically "the thing" to evoke emotion that the finest aspect of Wolfe's very uneven talent appears.

A NEW look at *Look Homeward, Angel* shows us that it is a book, not only of Eugene's "buried life," but one about tragic loneliness. Few lonelier pictures exist than the ones here that show the insularity within which Eliza and W. O. Gant live. This W. O. Gant, a rich and hungry man in spirit, who was never called by his wife Eliza anything except "Mr. Gant," strove by rhetoric, invective, alcohol, and lust to make somehow an impress on the unresponsive world around him. He is the ultimate tragic center of a book which deals with spiritual isolation almost everywhere.

Certainly the book lacks formal novelistic structure. If its core, as I believe, is W. O. Gant, then it contains a wealth of unresolved irrelevancy. If its central pattern is somehow linked up with brother Ben, as Wolfe seems to feel that it is, then we must regretfully assert that Brother Ben is a failure, the only really dead person in a book noteworthy for the vitality of its characters.

YET *Look Homeward, Angel* has a consistency and an integrity of its own. In a way different from those indicated above, it presents a world. And as we survey that world and its characteristics, it begins to appear very much like the universe of that surprisingly modern eighteenth century figure, Laurence Sterne; and the thought impresses itself upon us that Thomas Wolfe has created for Eugene Gant a Shandean world and that his book has something of the inspired illogic of the universe of Walter Shandy and Uncle Toby.

Both *Look Homeward, Angel* and *Tristram Shandy* defy formal analysis. Both are concerned with the education of the very young. Both see that education as essentially the product of the impact of the world outside upon the young mind. Both describe that education through memories in maturity. And both gain a certain quality of detachment through the comic or amused presentation of material, although Sterne's humor is better than Wolfe's and more pervasively a portion of his book.

Both Eugene and Tristram are the products of mismatched parents, both pairs of whom exist in their eternally separate worlds. Both heroes have older brothers who die; both are given to rhetorical excesses; both have a tendency toward unsatisfied concupiscence; and both embarrass us by "snickering," as Thackeray pointed out about Sterne. But these are superficial similarities; more real ones exist in method, language, and theme.

Look Homeward, Angel and *Tristram Shandy* are both ostensibly about their heroes, are records of these heroes' "life and opinions," yet neither Eugene nor Tristram is as real as other characters in their books. Uncle Toby, "My Father," and to a certain extent "My Mother" dominate *Tristram Shandy* and overshadow its narrator-hero. W. O. Gant, Eliza Gant, and Helen Gant dominate *Look Homeward, Angel,* and beside them the viewpoint character, Eugene, pales into comparative unreality. Furthermore, both books are family novels, peculiarly rich in brilliantly realized, hyperbolically presented familial portraits.

Both Wolfe and Sterne were adept at the precise, fact-laden description in which the thing evokes the feeling. Both were given to the representation of emotional excess in terms of heightened sensibility. Sterne is famous for this characteristic; in Wolfe, one needs only to look at the Laura James sequence to see the "novel of sensibility" present with us again.

Both men were remarkably proficient at capturing the individual cadences of human speech and reproducing them with sharp accuracy, and both delighted in the rhetorically extravagant; so that their works present, not a unified style, but a medley of styles.

But most significantly of all, both Wolfe and Sterne were oppressed with the tragic sense of human insularity, with the ineffable loneliness at the core of all human life. Walter Shandy sought a word to communicate with wife and brother, and he sought in vain. His wife walked in inarticulate silence beside him. Eugene Gant was striving for "a stone, a leaf, an unfound door." W. O. Gant, with all his exuberance and overbrimming life, remained "Mr. Gant" to a wife who never understood "save in incommunicable gleams."

And the whole problem of life, loneliness, and memory with which in their different ways these two books are concerned is for both writers bound up in the mystery of time and memory. Uncle Toby and Tristram, as well as Sterne, brood amusingly and seriously about kinds of time. For Wolfe and his hero, Time is the great unanswerable mystery and villain of life.

The world of Eugene Gant is a Shandean world. And in that inconsistent, unbalanced, illogical, incongruous, incomplete, and lonely universe, the secret of *Look Homeward, Angel's* sprawling formlessness, its unevenness, and its passages of colossal failure and of splendid success exist.

Unless we demand that all novels be neat and concise, *Look Homeward, Angel* has much to offer us still: a clear, detailed picture of a town; two extravagantly drawn but very living people, Eliza and W. O. Gant; a comic sense that lends aesthetic distance; a poignantly lyrical expression of the physical world of youth; and a picture of the individual's incommunicable loneliness.

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Where Today's Education Falls Short

by Gordon Keith Chalmers

WITH a historian's care for facts and interpretation, Dr. Bestor asks "whether the tendency of our public schools is toward greater emphasis upon the fundamental intellectual disciplines organized as they are in the mature world of science and learning, or whether the tendency is toward a lessened emphasis on these disciplines in the school program as a whole and a diminished belief in the importance of presenting them in systematic form to all students." "A quarter century of experience as a teacher," he adds, "has convinced me that the latter is the direction in which we have been and are moving." Dr. Bestor champions the improvement of the schools by supporting the hundreds of thousands of the best teachers, the thousands of administrators, and the "scores—I hope hundreds—of professors of education [who] are laboring to implant a respect for scholarship and science in the minds" of those committed to their charge.

The Restoration of Learning, A Program for Redeeming the Unfulfilled Promise of American Education, by Arthur Bestor (Knopf; $6).

Quotations from "life adjustment" programs and devices to "engineer consent" of teachers to substitute social generalization and trivia for the proper business of young minds are sufficiently numerous and eloquent to establish his first conclusion that something "has blocked the lower [*i.e.*, elementary and secondary] schools off from the rest of American intellectual life." A single philosophy has presided over the teaching of teachers for 40 years. "What began," says Bestor, "as the free and creative speculation of philosophic minds upon educational questions has congealed into educational dogma passed on from generation to generation by men who no longer speculate but merely expound." He quotes Willard B. Spaulding: "There is little value in most present courses and texts in education;" and an editorial in *School and Society*: "It is undeniable, however, that the overhauling of the teacher-education curriculum is long past due."

On a score of issues Dr. Bestor talks excellent common sense: on liberal as distinguished from vocational education, on the complete "inanity" of much present "general education," on the graduate study of teachers—for increased competence in what they teach rather than repetition or refinement of their knowledge of the elements of pedagogy—on reasonable certification laws designed to help change the vocation of teaching into a genuine profession, on examination as distinguished from diagnostic tests, on the economy of American education—advanced education, which is costly, "must be administered prudently as an investment, not handed out recklessly as a bounty or dole." The main proposal of the President's Commission on Higher Education (1947-1948) prompts him to explain:

> To ask society to pay the costs of higher education for increasing numbers of students, and then to turn completely about and demand that colleges and universities cease to be institutions of higher education so that unprepared and incompetent students may find something painless to do, is to engage in an academic confidence game, with the public as the fleeced investors. . . . The ultimate human and financial waste that results from the misguided effort to add a few meaningless years to the schooling of the least able is almost impossible to calculate.

He urges that university enrollments be stabilized rather than increased during the next few years of population growth, thus improving quality by permitting the competent to crowd out the incompetent and uninterested. Equally down-to-earth is his "positive approach to loyalty"—"Some educationists affect to believe that the danger to democracy can be averted by indoctrinating every teacher with a democratic educational philosophy." No solution. The trouble lies in "the dichotomy between scholarship and teaching" and the relative ignorance of many teachers. "It is time to stop worrying about how loyal our teachers are, and start worrying about how much they know." To this end he proposes that scholars and scientists take responsibility along with professors of pedagogy, to set and maintain the aims, curriculum, and standard for teachers in the schools.

"There is one thing that education needs even more than money," he says, "and that is purpose." In Dr. Bestor's opinion, the purpose of all education from bottom to top is represented by the definition: "Liberal education is training in thinking." All right for many scholars and scientists, but unconvincing and inadequate for the thoughtful and learned layman who believes that public policy must pick and choose among the fruits of scholarship, who doubts, in short, the value of some scholarship.

The Restoration of Learning is so practical in its diagnosis and proposals that one regrets its failure to look beneath tradition and the accepted opinion of the learned. The ultimate justification of the sensible reforms proposed is inadequate to the reforms themselves. The early twentieth-century revision of education which led to progressive education, its variants and perversions, were called forth by the valid feeling that learning had separated itself off from "life" and "experience." Life and experience were romantically conceived by the reformers, to be sure, but they were set in opposition to a higher learning which, in many particulars, had either dried up or remained in a nineteenth-century gothic-revival cloister. There remains to this day a suspicion on the part of some educationists and other citizens that knowledge by itself may not necessarily and in all its manifestations be a good thing. The incredible blunder of American critical thought and scholarship in the nineteen-twenties, thirties and early forties concerning the nature and aims of the Soviet Union did nothing to allay distrust of modern university learning in the humanities and social sciences. The inference of Professor Bestor's book is that science and scholarship are so fine that you cannot have too much of them. Since the first telling of the story of Adam and the tree, men have questioned this intellectualist illusion.

TRUE, Mr. Bestor says that good is to be found in knowledge that is important or "fundamental," and he demands that schools and universities recognize a hierarchy of importance; but throughout *Educational Wastelands* (1953), and *The Restoration of Learning* he accepts uncritically the present aims of university learning as a standard. It has not been true historically that "liberal education is training in thinking,"

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nor will such education meet the needs of today. The proper purpose of liberal education is twofold: to help the student find out what is important to think about and to think about it in appropriate terms. The first half of that statement is moral, involving the ethical implications of the word *liberal*—pertaining to a free man. The traditional studies which Mr. Bestor places at the center of all education encompasses this moral purpose. But it is not because they are traditional that they should be central.

In the great debate between aimlessness and purpose in public education, the explicit reason why they are central must be found and simply stated. Many a homespun skeptic about larnin' is justified in his impression that a lot of it is mere talk. How does liberal education go to work? There are ethical and political answers to this question. Mr. Bestor gives the conventional answers about trained manpower and an informed electorate, but these do not really meet the challenge of the 1910 reformers of American education, so misunderstood by present-day imitators of progressive education. The challenge was and is that there is a difference between much that passes in the university for systematic learning and what is vaguely referred to in countless sermons and lay preachments as "life." The challenge can be met. Its answer must conform to ethical realities evident in 1955, realities about liberty and order at home and abroad and our religious and moral understanding of ourselves, which are alien to the answer proposed in 1910.

Nonetheless this is a mighty book, comprehensive, and judicious. Dr. Bestor has performed admirably the long job of fact-finding and criticism necessary to confirm the impression of a host of dedicated teachers at school and college that despite almost universal good will in the school system, the governing principles are largely third rate. The remedies he proposes should commend themselves to all thoughtful persons who are concerned to see American education measure up more nearly to its great promise.

This Side of Paradise

by Jeri Laber

ILYA EHRENBURG'S most recent novel is without doubt the most important literary work published in post-Stalin Russia. Now translated by Manya Harari this frankly critical novel merits serious attention. No single document from a Soviet source since the mid-thirties has provided such a revealing image of the Soviet citizen and his life.

The Thaw, by Ilya Ehrenburg (Regnery; $3.50).

Significantly entitled *The Thaw*, Ehrenburg's book reflects that brief period, now referred to as the "Malenkov era." The significant changes which occurred during this period revealed the extent of the internal dissensions which had arisen under Stalin's rule.

As a novel, *The Thaw* is good journalese, in the genre of the "slick" magazine story, with a fast-moving, formularized plot. But although its significance as literature is slight, as social commentary it is outstanding.

Unlike most Soviet novelists, Ehrenburg has here broken with official Party demands that Soviet life be shown "as it should be" rather than as it is. Soviet life is shown candidly, with all of its hardships, hypocrisy, doubts and dissatisfaction, and with a constant emphasis upon individuals, whatever their reactions to the social and political system. Love, or, more precisely, frustrated love and frustrated people, is the central theme of *The Thaw*. His characters, unlike the successful, confident and purposeful "new Soviet men" encountered in most Soviet novels, are confused and unhappy, striving for love and security in a cold and impersonal world. "It's frightening that you can never read another person's mind," one of Ehrenburg's young heroines thinks. "You walk in darkness, you think happiness is in front of you and yet one more step and there's a precipice. What a terrifying game!"

Yet despite their "un-socialist" problems and doubts, Ehrenburg's protagonists *are* "new Soviet men," for they represent the upper strata of a new, Soviet-educated generation. They hold responsible jobs in a provincial town, are often Communist Party members and attend meetings, lectures and other party functions. But party membership and social productivity *alone* do not make a man, according to Ehrenburg. His focus is on man's inner world; he finds that a neatly painted social façade generally hides an emotional slum. The party factory director, Juravliov, for example, is described as a man who is "devoted to his job . . . a good soldier . . . a useful worker; but as a human being he's a mess." "We have taken a lot of trouble over one-half of the human being," Ehrenburg declares, "but the other half is neglected."

Ehrenburg's sympathetic treatment of his characters incited a storm of abuse

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in the Soviet press for his "objectivity" in portraying "morally corrupt, spiritually dislocated neurotics." Among the characters singled out by Ehrenburg's critics as the most undesirable are Pukhov, the old idealistic Bolshevik-turned-schoolteacher, who is "capable of re-educating criminals" but can do nothing with his own son; Volodya, his careerist artist son, who "trims his sails to the prevailing wind," maneuvers, lies and paints pot-boilers to achieve easy success, declaring with great bravado that "Raphael wouldn't be admitted to the Soviet Artists' Union"; the factory director Juravliov, a bootlicking bureaucrat who allows his workers to live in hovels so that his factory can maintain its good record; the second-rate actress Tanechka, whose life consists of "intrigues, cliques, ham actors, little rooms in dirty hotels, light affairs and a weight of misery"; the artist Saburov who "puts his paintings away in a cupboard" rather than prostitute himself before party hacks; and the brilliant engineer Dmitri, who criticizes a novel publicly, in good party fashion, for portraying the "absurd bourgeois survival" of a man's love for another man's wife, while he himself is inwardly tormented by his love for Lena, Juravliov's wife.

From *The Thaw* we learn that Dmitri's father perished during the 1936 purges and that Vera, a Jewish doctor, lived in constant fear after the Kremlin doctors were arrested in the last months of Stalin's life and accused of medical assassinations. We are told that the engineer Sokolovsky's family defected to the West, and we see how this fact is used maliciously by his enemies to destroy his career. These are but some of the many thinly veiled criticisms of party regimentation and terror.

During the Stalin regime, the publication of works critical of the status quo was prohibited. If a work which deviated from the official line managed to evade the censors and get into print, its "shortcomings" were soon uncovered by party critics who vigorously attacked it in the press and made sure that it was removed from the bookstore shelves; abject recantation was required from the author, the publisher and any critic who dared to give the book a favorable review. Thus the very fact that *The Thaw* was allowed to be published is of great significance. And despite sharp criticism from many party stalwarts, Ehrenburg has retained his prominent position on the Soviet scene and has even been allowed to publish an article defending his novel.

The Thaw is clearly a product of the period of relaxation, instability and re-evaluation which has followed Stalin's death. Ehrenburg is one of a number of writers who have seized this opportunity to express their criticisms of the Stalin regime and their aspirations for the future. As yet these writers constitute a very small minority, and they have met with a great deal of opposition. Their fate, and the future development of Soviet literature, is undecided. But whatever the outcome of their protests, we can be thankful to them for the insight they have provided into the inner dynamics of Soviet life.

Heraldry

BENEATH the bull
Barns bulge fodder-full.
Iron Indian or Devil
Straddles smoked gable
Over oaths, rum, and ale.
Stallion on stable,
Barque spun by stays'l
Tops shipcaptain's hall.
At South Penobscot, a whale
Crowns a cupola, tail
Churning skyswell
Though the harpooners dwell
Under stone on the hill.
On Little Deer Isle,
Clapboard and humble
Yet crowned with a cockerel
And proud stands the chapel;
Its barnyard archangel
In golden apparel
Turns sunfierce fantail
As the wind veers at will.
Inshore stands the steeple
Spearing a mackerel.
Silhouette sacerdotal
In act, and used well,
Thus thrice-beautiful;
This herald, most tall,
Annunciates in all
Winds fresh or foul
Fair weathers for the soul.

DANIEL G. HOFFMAN

Notes on Contributors

HUGH HOLMAN teaches at the University of North Carolina. GORDON KEITH CHALMERS is president of Kenyon College. JERI LABER recently toured the USSR.

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THEATRE

EVERYONE knows that pantomime means acting without speaking but which of us, invited to see some pantomime, would know what to expect. The lights come up on a bare stage. Silence. Before the dark curtains stands a single figure in a simple white costume and ballet slippers. He walks; but never reaches the side of the stage; never advance a step, in fact. It is a trick of *seeming* to walk; *marcher sur place* is its name. A small thing? Yet the audience is agog. We who have become expert in interpreting those faint gasps and murmurs, those audible smiles, those shiftings in the seat, those turnings of neighbor to neighbor which are the response of an audience, detect a most unusual degree of delight. And of interest: for if originality in art consists in a new mingling of illusion and reality, here it is. A walk is defined as a certain sequence of movements; yet here are movements and no movement; here is a walk which is not a walk.

Such is the most rudimentary of the pantomimic exercises of Marcel Marceau, the supreme triumph of the youngest generation in world theatre, who has just made his first New York appearance. Actually, any student of mime can *marcher sur place*. It is the mark of Marceau's personal magnetism that he can fascinate our audiences nightly with so elementary an exercise. But I am speaking only of the first half-minute of his program. There follows a series of items, lasting anything from a matter of seconds to a matter of minutes, and varying in complexity as from, say, the average night-club skit to the poems of Wallace Stevens.

When T. S. Eliot's Sweeney says "I gotta use words when I talk to you" he is admitting that words can be pretty unsatisfactory, and Marceau shows us that doing without words can be, instead of a deprivation, a liberation—as the more knowing movie critics realized, with a pang, when the "talkies" were invented. The language of pantomime surely has its limits (though I don't know where) yet within its range it can speak with a purity reached in words only by the supreme masters. To this it might be retorted that I have in mind only the supreme masters of pantomime. I don't think so. In the Keystone Comedies there were only one or two individual masters, yet whole films spoke with a purity never achieved by any genre of "talkie."

To the purity of the genre, Marceau adds his own genius, which one can hardly help comparing to Chaplin's. Half Marceau's program depicts a character called Bip who is first cousin to Charlie's the Tramp—the common man as romantic bum and lovable bungler seen through laughter and tears, funny absurdity and pathetic absurdity. In fact I heard Faubion Bowers, the Orientalist, complaining that all our Western mime is limited to these two elements whereas the Oriental mime runs the whole gamut of the dramatic and tragic. Yet if the art of Chaplin and Marceau has common boundaries, the differences within those boundaries are so large that one comes to question the value of the comparison. How, for example, can one reasonably say that Marceau is better (or worse) than Chaplin? What they do is not the same. Essential to Marceau's art is the absence of props; half the fascination of watching him is to see how he conjures up imaginary objects. In Chaplin, on the other hand, we admire the choice of props to use and the way he uses them. Then again, when we praise Chaplin, we praise not only the soloist but the actor with other actors, the screen-director, the screen-writer; in Marceau, we admire the economy—what he can do without props, without camera, without colleagues. To all of which one must add the difference between stage and screen as such. Essential to Marceau's art is the constant, living flow of feeling from him to the audience and back from the audience to him. Watching his work develop over the last half-dozen years (I claim the distinction of having first introduced him to the Anglo-Saxon theatre) I have had the opportunity to see grow what we vaguely call authority. It is one thing to play a sonata brilliantly in a drawing-room; another to hold all Carnegie Hall spellbound; this last demands authority.

I wish that words of mine could give a vivid impression of Marceau to those who will not see him. Do not imagine that he deals chiefly in dumb show, like Harpo Marx "speaking" to Chico. To him bodily movement is not a substitute for words but a direct way of depicting the human scene and indicating an attitude to it. One of his most charming numbers is called the Public Garden and in it he portrays over a dozen different people for a few seconds each. Part of the game is that the audience is kept guessing for a moment whom he is portraying now. He seems to be holding something above his head, then taking hold of a string, ah, yes, he is the balloon seller and, look, the little boy he's sold a balloon to must have been rude to him, he seems insulted. . . . A park-full of people is described with incredible despatch, exactitude, delicacy, affection and, of course, abundant humor. One of the most ambitious numbers is called Bip and the Butterfly. Here Marceau enters the higher realm of poetry, not by way of big statement, but by way of a shimmering and shifting of meanings all connected with the strangeness of the desire to seize a kind of beauty which, when seized, will die. The means adopted are darting looks, flickering fingers and a slender, lithe body under perfect rhythmic control. In some of its finest moments, the pantomime of Marceau is lyrical, and in one number, Youth, Maturity, Old Age, and Death, the lyrical is raised to the power of the sublime. The whole thing lasts perhaps half a minute during which Marceau remains rooted to the spot. As the lights go up, he is curled up like a foetus. Slowly he uncurls, gradually rises, at the same time making a roughly circular movement of the whole body. At last he is erect, his arms high above his head, and he is walking (without walking) forward, upward. Imperceptibly, with a slight twitch perhaps, a shrinking takes place. The chest caves in, the shoulders grow rounded, the arms drop and come forward and inward, the whole body sinks, and the aged corpse with which the action ends resembles the foetus with which it began.

I have spoken chiefly of the stories and the body-movements that go with them. There is a great deal more to say. A whole essay might be written on Marceau's use of his face. The idea of white clown-makeup is old and familiar; what Marceau does with it is not. For him, the whiteness is not a mask, replacing mobility with fixity; it is, rather, a way of making movement more easily visible; some details are eliminated in order that others may be accentuated.

An evening of great, of quintessential theatre.

ERIC BENTLEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

► The Gospel of Peale and Graham According to Donald Meyer

SIRS:

It's getting so that we can't turn a page or a dial without running into some mention of Peale and Graham, Graham or Peale. The actual quantitative details of the communications and conversions effected by these two remarkable men have been enumerated, catalogued, celebrated and blasted in an abundance of recent journals of exhibition and opinion. Accordingly, the two articles by Donald Meyer ("Norman Vincent Peale's Gospel of Success," July 11; and "Billy Graham, Successful Debunker of Success," August 22) are refreshing, and even exciting, not only because he has some very suggestive things to say about how it all came about—what is it in contemporary life that makes the madness of mustard-seed Christianity possible?—but also because, unlike some of our scribes and academics, he very cleverly develops the challenge of his diagnosis, and evaluates the "success" in question, with clarity and verve.

If it makes sense, though, to say that "Peale throws his converts back into the battle, Graham pulls them out of it," what reasons do we have for judging one movement more desirable than the other? The question is hardly an academic one, as I am sure Mr. Meyer would agree. Peale's world is "suffocating" and "grim," while the writer makes quite clear his feeling that the "evangelical piety" of Graham and his followers has genuinely creative, authentic value. But what is the basis for this preference? Have we here an academic exhorting us to fight mass culture and mass sophistication with inwardness?

There are, it is true, suggestions and glimmerings of an answer to this question. Thus, the world of Peale seems to be rejected not just because it is distasteful; the call to material success is itself obsolete. "Things are not as they were in Horatio Alger's day." Moreover, with regard to Graham, when the Bible "is taken up today, the very act is already in itself a self-creative motion. . . ." But, might we not say exactly the same thing of any other work that is "strong literature"? And if not, why not?

For if the justification for Mr. Meyer's position is ultimately historical—the time is somehow peculiarly ripe for Biblical evangelism—can it be any more than a pious hope that communion with the Scriptures will work "on the side of individual courage," and inspire that "hardness of the private self" that has been gradually deteriorating amidst the pushes and pulls of mass culture? Reading the Bible, after all, is not an absolute isolated act. If, on the other hand, Mr. Meyer's final position is ahistorical, how are we to avoid drifting back into some reformulation of the eternal verities, or into some variety of that "timeless realism" he has officially rejected? In the last analysis, perhaps all we are saying when we assert that Billy Graham is not just another Billy Sunday is that he reaches a wider audience than did that "mere representative of the Bible Belt."

FREDERICK M. ANDERSON
Simmons College
Boston, Massachusetts

► Reply by Mr. Meyer: How Should Intellectuals Relate to Popular Culture?

SIRS:

Mr. Anderson's acute comments express the watchfulness of those who know it is all too easy today to lose oneself in the community currents and end up turning with every popular turn. However, I do not think my "preference" for Graham over Peale implies that the philosopher should suppress his criticism of Graham in order to feel some sympathy. It implies that criticism should maintain contact with the needs upon which Graham's popularity feeds, accepting the situation without insisting that it point directly and immediately to positions the intellectual may prefer.

It strikes me that, in the last analysis, Mr. Anderson is troubled mostly by the fact that Graham's audience does after all exist. This may be a fact of sad import: we are not it seems moving together into the future of John Dewey. But it confronts us with the difficulty that what the intellectual wants people to want cannot always be what they do want. It is probably healthy for the intellectual to think it is always possible in his society to preach his own saving word successfully, but it should affect his formulation of his message to know what the needs are which his potential audiences have generated independent of him. In a culture where intellectuals agonize so often about their alienation, where it is almost dogma that preaching to and criticizing the community is a duty, we ought to have more than our present very hesitant ideas about how to relate to popular community culture. I would answer some of Mr. Anderson's questions accordingly. Of course there is strong literature besides the Bible, to read which in a seeking fashion would be self-creative too. As it happens, no one is going to get Graham's audience reading Thoreau, Melville or Niebuhr just yet, or even David Riesman. Graham gets some of them to read the Bible. Fundamentalism has it that such an act is an absolute act, but it ought to be possible to remember that it is not such an act, without blinding ourselves to what Bible faith actually has meant in our culture, to its comprehensible cultural reverberations, to what it may mean for some people today in the context of their needs.

DONALD MEYER
Santa Monica, California

► The Social Self

SIRS:

The lucid review by Will Herberg of P. E. Pfuetze's *The Social Self* (*NR*, September 12) needs to be qualified:

1) The assertion that G. H. Mead slights the treatment of individual differences is warranted: Mead was interested primarily in discovering the *constants* of human interaction and the context of the growth of selves. There remains a query: Does Pfuetze's postulate that the self can only be grounded upon an "Eternal Thou" shed light upon the concrete problem of individuality? Professor Gordon W. Allport of Harvard is doing the best exploratory work in the province of personal uniqueness, recorded in his early volume on *Personality* and his recent lectures on *Becoming*.

2) It is news to readers of the writings of Mead and to students in his classes to learn that his view issues in "engulfment" of the self in some social whole.

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Pfuetze appears to neglect two salient features of Mead's thought; first, the stress upon the response of the *I* to the Me, which means insistence upon unique, critical reaction to folkways. Moreover, Mead headlines participation in *many* groups from the family on, the standards of some groups at variance with others, the conflict demanding reflection. A new self "transcends" an old one. Hence the charge that Mead lands in "collectivism" is a misreading.

3) Pfuetze offers a metaphysics of the self which is most congenial with the theological tradition of Western Europe. That is his privilege. At the same time, he leans upon premises which other sects would repudiate; Buddhism, for instance.

Mead spent a lifetime in the formulation of a theory of social behavior in which the becoming of the self by conversation and role-taking was a central chapter. In this pursuit he was guided by an intimate knowledge of the methods and conclusions of the sciences. The outcome is the presentation of basic principles of a *science* of social psychology, an "anthropology" which covers all cultures, primitive and contemporary, East and West.

ERNEST L. TALBERT

Cincinnati, Ohio

► The Series on "Oil and Politics"

SIRS:

. . . Mr. Engler has done an outstanding job of setting forth the really important facts, avoiding sensationalism, and presenting a case which any thoughtful citizen must very seriously consider.

JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director
The Co-operative League
Washington, D. C.

► The Serviceman's Code

SIRS:

A few days ago our grass-roots *New Republic*, *The Texas Observer*, published a commentary on Eisenhower's new Code of Conduct for Servicemen exposing the outmoded concepts on which the code is based.

This article referred to a television debate in which one of the authors of the code, Assistant Secretary of the Army Hugh Milton, in reply to a suggestion that "nowhere in the Code was there even a hint of a promise that courts-martial would take extenuating circumstances such as torture and youth and ignorance into consideration," read the last sentence of the code: "I will trust in my God and the United States of America."

Yesterday the AP released its story on the freeing of Rev. Levi Lovegren by the Chinese Communists. The statement he made points up the anachronistic thinking of those who drew up the code. We may assume that a Baptist minister is strong in the faith—at least as strong as the average GI of 21 or so is likely to be—and yet Rev. Lovegren stated he "signed a statement implicating" himself as a spy, and he also said, "In fact, I signed things all the time. They told me it was the only way to get out."

SELWYN JONES

Houston, Tex.

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

► McCarthy in Wisconsin

SIRS:

Mr. Edwards seems to have missed the mark a bit (*NR*, Sept. 26) when he says "there has been no sign that the [Republican] organization intends to do anything but put all its considerable weight behind the Senator [McCarthy]."

I need only cite an article (*Milwaukee Journal*, Sept. 23) concerning the recent GOP dinner held in Milwaukee and attended by over 200 Republicans.

"'The heart and soul of the Republican Party is the farm country'." McCarthy said. "'If we don't carry the farm country we lose all. And we are failing —failing abysmally—as far as the farmer is concerned'." He predicted defeat for the Republicans unless the Eisenhower Administration changes its farm program.

Ed Bailey of the *Journal*, an astute political observer, comments "McCarthy was applauded heartily when he was introduced, but this enthusiasm had dwindled almost to nothing at the end of his talk."

. . . McCarthy may be winning voters in Wisconsin (though I doubt it), but his recent speeches have certainly not endeared him to the organization.

ERIC SANDER,
National Committeeman,
Young Democratic Clubs of Wisconsin
West Milwaukee, Wis.

BANDWAGON

LABOR SECRETARY MITCHELL was questioned by newsmen today about having claimed the new dollar-an-hour national minimum wage as an accomplishment of the Administration. The Democratic-controlled Congress passed the bill over objections of the Administration, which wanted the minimum 10 cents lower. Mitchell said: "Well, the President signed the dollar."—from A. P. Radio Wire, September 21, 1955

THERE [Will] Hays came to one of his basic conclusions of his life in a democracy: "From that day to this . . . the choosing of the right man to be our President has seemed to me about the greatest single responsibility of the American people." He met that responsibility face to face twenty-four years later when as Republican National Chairman, at just 41, he presided over the convention which chose Warren G. Harding. —From the *New York Times*, September 11, 1955.

Deafened Doctor Confesses
— in new book on Deafness

New York, N.Y.: The amazing story of a leading ear specialist — deafened himself for over 15 years, was revealed today. In his 63 page book he frankly confesses his own hard-of-hearing problem, his difficulties, embarrassment, and how through years of study and experience he found the solution to his own predicament.

The publisher's edition of this book sells for $1.00 in book stores everywhere, but Audivox offers a special limited edition, containing exactly the same text, to any hard-of-hearing person at no cost. For your Free Copy, in a plain envelope, write Audivox, Inc., Dept. NR 123 Worcester St., Boston, Mass. Name and address on a postcard is sufficient.

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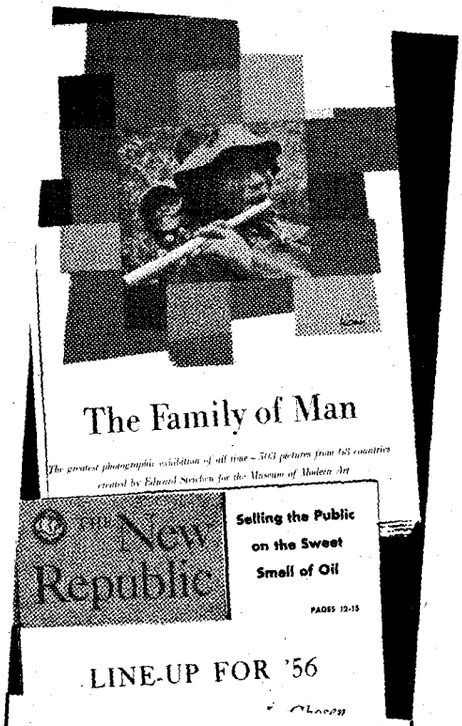

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